

A SOCIALIST COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS

# Venture

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## Comment

### TIME TO WAKE UP!

'COLONIALISM is out. The days are gone when European governments can impose law and order and expect to find peoples contented and docile on the basis of a leisurely or even sluggish rate of social progress. . . But the problem of poverty is bigger than colonialism. . . ' Poverty on a world scale is the theme of Sir Richard Acland's pamphlet *Time to Wake Up!*,<sup>1</sup> which by its excellent illustrations and incisive writing should achieve its object—to enlist the conscience and reason of the British people in the war on want. Sir Richard sees this as a simple moral problem, and in the last resort, so it is. He ends with a challenge, ' Shall we urge our own government to give a lead on our behalf? Shall we join the poor of this world in their struggle against poverty? Or would we rather not? After all, we needn't. There are alternatives. . . ' Our own government needs some urging. The United Nations Technical Assistance programme suffered a shortfall on its budget in the second year of working, 72 per cent. of which was due to the reduction of Britain's contribution. Last December, the General Assembly urged all governments to increase their amounts, but the British Government pledged itself to contribute £500,000—an increase of only £50,000. The argument that we must pay our way before undertaking more than the contribution to world development to which we are already pledged is sound, but it is not difficult to think of economies which we could all make for this purpose. The contributions that are being made by Commonwealth countries through the Colombo Plan for South-east Asia are already showing results.<sup>2</sup> Experts and training

facilities increased over the figures for 1951, but do not yet approach the needs. Malaya, for example, applied for 40 experts and received 13, Ceylon asked for 85 and received 43, Singapore did best by asking for one and receiving one. Places provided for trainees came nearer to meeting demands, as did supplies of equipment. But the whole report demonstrates clearly that outside aid, if forthcoming, can be used. This is no time to reduce it. Indeed, Sir Richard Acland is right to demand a great increase.

### B.G. VOTES LEFT

GENERAL pleasure at the success of the Caribbean Federation Conference was slightly marred by the election success of the Communist-led People's Progressive Party in British Guiana, which appears to have caused some stir across the Atlantic. It is difficult to imagine what other outcome was expected by those who are upset by the result. The various political groups in British Guiana wasted years after the war in fruitless internecine warfare, and failed so signally that an outside Commission had to be brought in to make constitutional proposals at a time when even little islands like Antigua were moving ahead by their own efforts. It is hardly surprising that in the resulting frustration the people should have given their votes to the party which shouts loudest and which has shown some measure of positive organised activity. It is, in our view, a great pity that the Communist element should ever have been introduced. It can do much damage, particularly in the labour field. But it is to be hoped that in office the P.P.P. leaders will find sufficient scope for their undoubted energy and will see the irrelevance of much of their propaganda. If the plantation and mining interests gang up against necessary reforms, and if the moderate elements are unable to form a responsible opposition, they will have only themselves to thank if the P.P.P. develops into a real Communist party.

<sup>1</sup> 1s. each, 9s. 6d. per dozen, from 'War on Want,' 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

<sup>2</sup> *The Colombo Plan: Report for 1952 by the Council for Technical Co-operation.* H.M.S.O., 1953.

## THE NIGERIAN CRISIS

THE decision to amend the Nigerian constitution to allow for the dissolution of a regional legislature irrespective of the other Regions and the central House of Representatives will at least allow a decision to be reached on one section of the constitutional crisis in Nigeria. The Eastern House has now been dissolved and elections will be held. But at the centre, the Council of Ministers is held together only by the official element; the Western Region is no longer represented in it; two major southern parties, the Action Group and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, are in opposition to it. Meanwhile, the public statements of the various leaders, although they purport to blame the Governor, reveal that the basic trouble is local disunity, since exposed in more tragic form at Kano.

If Nigeria is to have 'Self-government by 1956' this disunity will have to be overcome. Various changes are needed to enable this to happen. In the first place, the southern leaders are right to point out that northern representation in both regional and central Houses is weighted in favour of traditional elements. They are not, however, in an impregnable position themselves, owing to the prevalence of corruption in the elections in the two southern Regions. We have always believed that this can be righted only by abandoning electoral colleges and allowing direct election to the regional legislatures. It is more difficult to envisage direct election to the central legislature, which would require many more personnel, but at least it should be agreed that the regional blocs in the central legislature should reflect the state of the parties in the Houses which sent them. The parties in the regional legislatures should not use their power to deny a voice in the central legislature to minority parties and groups which have won representation in the regional constituencies. On this point, the southern politicians as well as the Northern traditionalists have all been at fault, and it is this more than anything else which has prevented the central House from developing Government and Opposition parties or coalitions of parties or groups. These changes would at least produce a more representative central legislature. In the present state of the parties, it might well be that even this legislature could not produce a unified Ministry with an agreed policy which would receive the support of the majority of the House, but at least it would show what the actual facts are and remove the whole subject of self-government from the atmosphere of interested propaganda in which it is at present being discussed. Nigeria has definite practical steps to take to achieve self-government, and the most fruitful approach would be to discuss

exactly what these are and how they can be taken before the whole country succumbs to the mood of bitter disruption which is at present being induced. We must also point out that some of this is the result of events in other parts of Africa. There is a general lack of confidence on all sides which only honest attempts to secure a solution can now overcome.<sup>1</sup>

## REJECTED APPEAL

THE appeal of the Nyasaland Chiefs to the Queen<sup>2</sup> having been rejected in January, a further appeal to the two Houses of Parliament was rudely swept aside by the Secretary of State on May 4. On May 6 the House of Commons passed the second reading of the Enabling Bill against the Labour opposition led by Mr. Attlee. But all is not over beyond drafting the Order in Council. The Enabling Bill must pass its third reading in the House of Commons, where the Labour Opposition has tabled a series of far-reaching amendments. Then it must pass the Lords. The Nyasaland Africans have declared for passive resistance, while in Fort Jameson a meeting has been held of African leaders from all three territories, at which it was decided that Africans should not enter the federal legislature when it is established. The only bright spot on the horizon is the decision to make the projected Central African University inter-racial, but such is the state of African education that this will in any case show results only in a few years' time. It is a minor but pitiful consequence of Mr. Lyttelton's obstinacy that Chief Mwase of Nyasaland, hitherto regarded as a pillar of moderation, has refused to attend the Coronation—not from disloyalty to the Crown, but in protest against the insulting attitude adopted to his people by the Queen's advisers.

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

MR. REGINALD SORENSEN has drawn attention in the House of Commons to a piece of legislation in Uganda which has passed largely unnoticed in the British press. Last year Uganda

<sup>1</sup> Since this comment was written, the Secretary of State has announced negotiations to be held in London (*Hansard*, 21.5.53), and there have been reports of demands for a wide measure of regional separation from the Northern House of Assembly. These do not alter our view that what is required is a review of the whole constitution—not merely of the composition and powers of the central Government, and not just a consideration of the principle of self-government.

<sup>2</sup> See *A Petition to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II against Federation made by Chiefs and Citizens of Nyasaland*, Africa Bureau, 69, Great Peter Street, London, S.W.1. 1s. 6d.

enacted a Hotels Ordinance, which included a clause providing that hotel keepers must receive and lodge all travellers unless they have reasonable ground to refuse them accommodation. A difficulty subsequently arose on the point of outdated international restrictions on the supply of spirits to Africans, but new liquor rules introduced in January at least provide that no licensee shall refuse to sell non-spiritous liquor to any person without reasonable grounds. The Uganda Government's step amounts to legislation against racial discrimination in hotels, and if sensibly interpreted (and we have no doubt that it will be) will meet objections to legislation on this subject which are so frequently raised. Mr. Hopkinson in reply to the question undertook to draw the attention of the Governors of other East and Central African territories to the question and to his reply.

### MALAYAN PERSPECTIVE

THE Malayan Government's decision to appoint a committee to examine the question of elections to the Legislative Council is timely. The

emergency, though not over, is sufficiently relaxed to allow the abolition of the much-criticised Emergency Regulation 17D which gave powers of mass detention, and the flow of surrenders is increasing. 'The really active danger,' General Templer recently said in London, 'is the subversion and infiltration of apparently harmless bodies like trade unions, political associations and youth movements.' More freedom, not less, is needed to meet this danger, together with the constructive work of education of all kinds which the Government and voluntary bodies are already carrying out. Attempts to bring the different communities together are also being made, and a committee to plan for a 'united self-governing Malayan nation' has been appointed by a multi-racial conference of different groups. The United Malays National Organisation and the Malayan Chinese Association stood aside from the conference, but they are agreed in the demand for elections. Malaya is clearly entering on a new phase which in its way will be as difficult as the one from which it is emerging. Some of the problems now arising are dealt with in *Malayan Perspective*, written for the Bureau by Derrick Sington and published this month.

## Representation in Tanganyika

THE Mackenzie Report on constitutional development in Tanganyika<sup>1</sup> is a document that should be studied, particularly by those who have had no experience of elections, throughout East and Central Africa. It does not deal with political principles in the abstract, but with the practical problems of working out a fair system of representation in a territory where there is no previous experience of national elections and where the population is culturally divided according to racial origin, with the least advanced in an overwhelming majority.

The major political decision that Asians, Africans and Europeans are to be equally represented on the unofficial side of the legislature had already been taken. The problem was to work out a practical scheme for combining this principle with an electoral system. This problem has not yet become the focus of intense and emotional political agitation—indeed, 'there is as yet no formed public opinion in Tanganyika except on a few very broad matters of principle'—and it seems likely that

Tanganyika will succeed in forestalling the development of racial antagonisms by tackling the issue before sectional opinions have been finally formed. Such opinion as there is is largely liberal, and Professor Mackenzie started with the great advantage that he

'found general agreement in Tanganyika that a system of common roll elections must be the ultimate goal as a necessary preliminary to self-government, and that nothing should be done which would make the ultimate attainment of that goal more difficult.'

But in practice, there is no basis on which a country-wide common roll could be established which would secure representation for all three races, unless educational qualifications were adopted which would wipe out the bulk of the African vote. Professor Mackenzie has therefore advocated a common roll in only one constituency, to be either the Tanga Province or Dar-es-Salaam. In this constituency, there would be one European, one African and one Asian seat, the qualification being literacy in English. If applied to Dar-es-Salaam, this proposal would have the advantage of giving representation to educated Africans, who would be unlikely to secure election through indirect electoral machinery in the rural areas. A lesser merit is that by combining Asian and non-

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Special Commissioner appointed to examine matters arising out of the Report of the Committee on Constitutional Development. (Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 6sh.50.)

Asian votes in a common roll constituency, it may be possible to forestall a communal conflict within the Asian community such as has occurred in Kenya. The combination of a common roll with reserved seats—which we have ourselves suggested as a possible solution in multi-racial societies—may therefore be tested in practice and in comparatively favoured conditions. If it is a success, the Report suggests that further seats might be created in the Legislative Council and the same system adopted in other towns.

### Three Seats to a Province

For the other areas, the practical difficulties are obviously great, but not as great as in Kenya, where the European population in some areas is so small that the existing 14 constituencies cannot be justified by any practical argument but only by racial claims. In Tanganyika, on the other hand, it is possible to allocate one Asian, one European and one African seat to each Province without reaching ludicrously low figures.

But this is achieved only by accepting constituencies so enormous that in United Kingdom terms they would not be constituencies at all. A constituency presupposes some organic relation between the Member and his electors, and this is possible, for Europeans, in only 'three or at most four' Provinces at the outset. It is suggested, therefore, that European elections should be held in these, but that the other European seats should be for the time being filled by nomination, and that the nominees should not all be tied to territorial constituencies but some should represent various interests such as lands and mining. The Asians (who include Goans, Arabs and others), are in larger numbers and can also fill several elective seats, but some nominations should be retained, in particular to give a seat to the Arabs.

The introduction of elections for Africans presented another series of problems. Professor Mackenzie referred to experiences in West Africa in conducting elections with a largely illiterate population. The difficulties presented there, he says, were not insuperable, owing to the beginning of national party organisation and the presence of a sufficient part of the population which was aware of the existence of national problems. These conditions he found 'almost completely lacking in Tanganyika.' He found tribalism still dominant, and a very large number of small tribes, with only one, the Wasukuma, numerically strong enough to choose their own member without inter-tribal claims arising. Elsewhere 'choice would have to be made between tribes and the largest tribe would almost always win.' It would be possible to find

some Africans who could participate in direct elections, but this would give a false representation of African opinion and exclude a large proportion of the population from the franchise.

Indirect election is therefore recommended, but not through a pyramid of electoral colleges independent of Native Authorities, as in West Africa. The native councils are at present the 'growing point' in African administration in Tanganyika, and it is through these, the Report suggests, that names should be submitted from each province for the final nomination by the Governor. From this it would be possible to 'work up' to the introduction of secret ballots and to the substitution of electoral colleges specially chosen for the purpose, and to 'work downwards' to the people by encouraging the lowest councils to submit names to the higher ones.

Such proposals have the merit of taking African institutions as they are and widening their depth and scope. The method would be in harmony with the concurrent attempt to develop local government. In this as in the recommendations for common roll Professor Mackenzie has attempted a marriage of principle with time and place, and the resulting proposals attract by their sanity.

The larger issue, however, arises as to whether the time is available. The proposals for Africans are not very different from the methods of choice used under the Nigerian Constitution of 1947 and the Gold Coast Constitution of 1946. Where are those constitutions now? They may succeed in Tanganyika if those who feel themselves to be the educated spokesmen of their people do in fact find scope for expression, if there is a proper sense of urgency both in the 'working upwards' process and in the addition of urban common roll constituencies. If we are also to hope to avoid the head running away with the tail, the 'working downwards' process is equally important and should be regarded as a major educational task.

Such comments move into the realm of political decisions from which Professor Mackenzie specifically dissociates himself. The value of his Report lies in this dissociation, and it prompts the question whether a similar investigation should not be carried out in Kenya. In advance of the promised discussions between the Kenya communities, there could be no clear directive of principles to narrow the field of investigation, but it would still be useful to find out what the possibilities of various lines of policy might be. Whatever is done, constitutional discussions are bound to take place in Kenya in an atmosphere of vehement debate, but preliminary investigations of the kind that Professor Mackenzie has carried out in Tanganyika might prevent them from being conducted in the realms of fantasy.

# NATIONALISATION IN THE CAMEROONS—III

by Molly Mortimer and Marjorie Nicholson

AS a public body the Cameroons Development Corporation is responsible for setting a good standard in labour conditions, wages and welfare for its employees and industrial relations. In all these matters, it started from a low level and has not yet reached a satisfactory condition, but there has been steady improvement.

In 1938 the plantation labourer was paid 'the equivalent of 7d. a day, about 30 per cent. of which was in the form of rations and 20 per cent. in credit notes in the companies' stores.'<sup>1</sup> In 1946, the average was 1s. 3d., rising to 1s. 8d. in 1949. But the cost of living kept pace with the rise. This, together with a demand for a better standard by the workers, who were organised in a trade union to fight for it, led to a general strike in 1949. A basic wage of 1s. 10d. was then agreed by a joint committee under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Labour.

In practice, the basic wage in 1950 for daily-paid labour ranged from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 1d.,<sup>2</sup> and at the end of the year a bonus was introduced in addition, providing 6s. for men who worked 24 days in any calendar month. Further increases were subsequently obtained, providing a minimum of 2s. a day from September, 1951.<sup>3</sup> The following table<sup>4</sup> shows the scales without bonus just before the increase took effect:—

Type of Labour.	WAGES.			Normal working hours per week.
	Minimum. £ s. d.	Maximum. £ s. d.	Per day or month.	
Intermediate service ... ..	16 5 0	48 15 0	p.m.	45
Junior technical service ... ..	7 0 0	46 6 8	p.m.	45
Junior clerical service ... ..	7 0 0	43 11 8	p.m.	45
Probationers sub-scale ... ..	7 0 0	8 6 8	p.m.	45
Artisans and field staff ... ..	5 0 0	15 0 0	p.m.	45
Messengers, watchmen and caretakers ... ..	4 3 4	6 8 4	p.m.	45
Special Labour, Grade I ... ..	3 2	3 4	p.d.	45
Special Labour, Grade II ... ..	2 9	3 2	p.d.	45
Special Labour, Grade III ... ..	1 10	2 2	p.d.	45
General Labour ... ..	1 9	2 0	p.d.	45

Last year the lowest daily rate was increased (after a dispute) to 2s. 4d.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the First United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British Administration.* T/461, page 71.

<sup>2</sup> These figures were given by the then Minister of State in a letter to Mr. James Johnson, M.P., dated May 24, 1951. The comparison with other enterprises in Nigeria and the Cameroons was favourable. At the end of 1950 the United Africa Company was paying 1s. 10d. plus 12½ per cent. Temporary Addition to Rate of Pay on its Calabar Estates in Nigeria, while the

On the plantations, food is expensive, although the corporation operates a number of farms (at a loss) and supplies food to its workers at cost and in some cases at subsidised prices. In addition, it has granted nearly 3,000 acres to employees to make their own 'chop' farms, but this has led to grave and persistent abuses, both in absenteeism and sale of crops. To meet the need for consumer goods workers' shops have been established and appear to have been a success, although by the end of 1951 they were still operating at a loss. Early in its life the Corporation asked the Government of Nigeria to send in co-operative officers, and one, paid for by the Corporation, was appointed in 1950. Efforts have been made to establish thrift societies, but there has been little response. The Co-operative Department's Report (1951) commented that the Assistant Registrar 'was met by an amount of uncertainty and hesitation which seemed almost insuperable unless a degree of inducement or compulsion could be applied.' This failure might be linked with the absence—frequently noted in the Cameroons—of voluntary effort, partly due to the German tradition, in which all initiative came from higher authority.

The Corporation maintains the usual provident funds, and provides a wide range of welfare services, including recreation fields, films, community halls

with adult education classes (including sewing classes for workers' wives) and some libraries. The most

Government was paying 1s. 9d. to 2s. 1d. plus 12½ per cent. T.A.R.P. for road labour in Calabar and 1s. 7d. to 1s. 11d. plus 12½ per cent. T.A.R.P. for road labour in the Cameroons.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report of the Cameroons Development Corporation for 1951*, page 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Nigeria: Annual Report of the Department of Labour, 1950-1951*, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1952, page 63.

(Continued on page 10.)

# COLOUR BAR OR DILUTION?

‘WE were informed that as far as the Chamber of Mines were concerned, they had always endeavoured to look after the African and to employ him to the best advantage in the industry. Any further progress of the African must be in the direction of replacing Europeans.’

‘Our inquiries lead us to think that there has been no improvement in the type of work done by the Africans during the last seven years.’

‘... whilst that feeling has not got to the stage where the Africans are becoming bitter, they certainly have a sense of frustration and a feeling that their race rather than their lack of capabilities is the reason for them being held back. We were told that the most intelligent of them were of the opinion that they were being held back because of the European trade union.’

*‘The advance of the African may not affect those other persons who are at present in employment but may affect them indirectly through their sons.’*

‘We do not consider that any position in industry in the future should be the prerogative of any race, white, black or coloured. All positions should be open to any man who by his training, educational attainments and ability is capable of adequately filling them.’

*‘The European needs and will continue to need the help of the African, whilst the African must depend for many years to come on the goodwill, forbearance and guidance of the European.’*

In these words the Dalglish Commission<sup>1</sup> summarised the problem of colour bar in Northern Rhodesian industry in 1948. That problem is still there.

In 1948, the Commission found that by and large Africans were employed in industry in Northern Rhodesia as labourers, though some were doing semi-skilled jobs. Some had acquired a measure of skill in certain crafts, but even here ‘the work performed by the African artisan is far below that of the European, which indeed in certain aspects is completely outside his present capacity.’ There were reasons for this—the absence of an industrial background, a different appreciation of leisure in relation to money, lack of education, the lack of opportunity for responsibility, insufficient explanation and instruction. The Commission noted that despite these disadvantages African workers had learnt a great deal in twenty years. They observed that while some witnesses drew attention to the African’s ‘complete lack of responsibility,’ some Africans demonstrated a considerable degree of responsibility, generally according to their personal respect for the European to whom they were directly responsible. The Commission found it possible to recommend a number of semi-skilled jobs which Africans could do—and in some

cases were doing with some employers—and a number which they could advance to if given the necessary training. They pointed out that some of these were already done by Africans across the border in the Belgian Congo.

The crux of the whole problem lay in the copper mines. There, by an agreement negotiated in 1944 with the Northern Rhodesian Mine Workers’ Union (European), there was to be no dilution of labour by giving jobs then being filled by existing employees ‘to persons to whom the terms and conditions of this agreement do not apply’—i.e. to persons other than European employees. The European Union stood (and still stands) on this agreement. It refused to give any assistance to the Dalglish Commission, or to submit evidence to it, primarily because the Commission’s terms of reference did not include a direct reference to equal pay for equal work and responsibility. The Dalglish recommendations have therefore never been implemented. The African copper miner feels that an economic bar is deliberately placed against his advancement in industry, just as African political leaders believe that federation with Southern Rhodesia will block their advancement politically.

Yet there have been some changes since 1948. Many more Europeans, a large proportion of them from South Africa, have entered the territory. In the copper mines, last September, 5,639 Europeans and 38,878 Africans were employed. The price of copper has been high, European wages have gone up to what in this country would be considered fantastic levels, and the cost of living has risen. African consciousness has risen, and has developed very rapidly indeed since race tensions in South Africa and in Northern Rhodesia itself have made their impact on the leaders. On the Copperbelt to-day there are all the ingredients for a major explosion.

Perhaps by now there would have been an explosion like that of 1934 but for the most important change of all. Early in 1948, there was not a single trade union in Northern Rhodesia organising Africans. There was no one body through which African mineworkers could talk to their employers. There was no wages council at which their voices could be heard, even through the mouth of Government-appointed spokesmen. Now there is an African Mineworkers’ Union over 35,000 strong. It negotiated its first major industrial agreement in 1951. Last year it conducted a strike for three weeks with not a single blackleg and not a single act of violence. This Union has had the benefit of advice from the Government Trade Union Adviser; two of its leaders have been through an extensive tour of the British coalfields at the invitation of the British National Union of Mineworkers; it has not been hamstrung by the employers—indeed, the Chamber of Mines expressed to the Dalglish Commission their willingness to recognise a representative union, and the companies operate a check-off on wages for the collection of union dues. Well led as it has been, this Union is

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Advancement of Africans in Industry. Government Printer, Lusaka, 1948.

the 'showpiece' of African trade unionism throughout the continent.

Last year's strike occurred when the African Mineworkers demanded wage increases following increases in the pay of European miners. Their claim went to arbitration, and resulted in a great victory. The union's case was argued and prepared by Mr. Ronald Williams, M.P., legal adviser to the British National Union of Mineworkers. The increase awarded by the arbitrator is estimated to cost the companies an extra £750,000 yearly on its wages bill, and represents a rise of 80 per cent. in basic pay for the lowest paid workers and 15 per cent. for the highest. The first result was the paying out of £125,000 in back pay at the beginning of February. This success should give the union more confidence than hitherto in arbitration machinery.

The second result is to raise again the colour bar issue. In one sense, the increase to the African workers eases the problem, since any general rise in the standard of African wages lessens the danger of European wages being undercut. But even if the full African claim of 2s. 8d. a shift—as opposed to the increase of 1s. 2d. to 1s. 8d. which were awarded—had been granted, European wages would still be eighteen times those of the Africans.<sup>1</sup> The risk of undercutting remains, therefore, overwhelming. In a second sense the dispute brought the problem to a head. In the course of the hearings, the employers expressed concern over the failure to implement the recommendations of the Dalglish Commission, and the arbitrator commented in his award that these issues were 'unresolved,' and that he had throughout 'been conscious of them hanging like a dark cloud in the background.' It has since been reported that some of the companies intend to reopen discussions on the subject with the European union, while some weeks ago the International Mineworkers' Federation, to which both the African and European unions are affiliated, appointed Sir William Lawther, the Vice-President of the German Miners' Union and the Secretary of the French Miners' Federation to go to Northern Rhodesia to be of assistance to both of them.

Are these problems indeed capable of any solution? At some levels, they are. It has been observed that no difficulty arises when the best of the Africans meet the best of the European workers. Indeed, it is said that some of the latter unofficially give part of their wages to the Africans with whom they work. The difficulty arises when a European worker feels himself unable to make the grade, and fears for his job. The Dalglish Commission did not feel that loss of employment would result from Africans advancing

to semi-skilled and skilled jobs. 'It was pointed out to us,' they said, 'that when . . . Africans took over the work of lorry-driving from Europeans all the Europeans displaced were transferred to other work superior in status and in salary.' Nor did the Commission suggest that any European should be deprived of his job, but merely recommended that qualified Africans should fill vacancies when they occurred.

Whether such a policy could actually be carried out would, of course, depend to an enormous extent on the goodwill of both employers and the African union, as well as on the degree of organisation and indispensability of the Europeans. Nor was it clear from the Dalglish Report what interpretation should be given to the principle of equal pay. The Commission spoke of 'the assumption . . . that it required three Africans to undertake completely the work of one European without any additional supervision,' and suggested that in such circumstances the wage of the European should be divided between the three Africans. This is not the interpretation commonly accorded by the European miners. Many of them agreed that the Africans' pre-arbitration wages were far too low, and the European union gave help to Mr. Williams in preparing the African case. But it must be admitted that man for man Africans will not for many years displace Europeans at European pay.

Indeed, if they did, the effect would be to create a tiny skilled class of immensely wealthy African workers contrasted with the great mass of unskilled labour which the copper mines will always need, and which already is much better off than Africans in other unskilled occupations. The other shadow which always looms over Northern Rhodesia is the possibility of a slump in copper prices. These have leapt from £77.5 per ton in 1946 to £237 in 1952. A serious drop would not only smash the wage structure, but would deprive the territory of the bulk of its income tax (73 per cent. of all income tax came from mining in 1951), and cripple the revenue just when expenditure to develop other resources would be most needed.

Against this background the issue of 'colour bar,' as it appears to the Africans, or 'dilution,' as it appears to the Europeans, is indeed a threatening cloud. But it is a cloud in a changing sky. Northern Rhodesia—considering its revenue—is scandalously backward in the general standard of African education. As this improves, and as Africans become more habituated to the disciplines of industrial life, the gap between the African and European workers will narrow, not only in African eyes but in those of the employers. It is vital to European standards that when this time comes the employers should not be given the chance, if they should have the inclination, to play off one union against another. If the unions can reach a *modus vivendi* now, and treat the problem as a genuine industrial problem rather than as one of colour, it may ultimately be solved. But if racial tension is allowed to grow in the territory, if the competent African union leaders should themselves become embittered in the struggle, there can be no solution. The most immediate need is for the International Mineworkers to send what help they can as soon as possible.

<sup>1</sup> In September, 1952, the average monthly cash wages for Europeans were £89 (surface) and £108 (underground) and for Africans £4 2s. 6d. (surface) and £5 4s. 9d. (underground). In addition to the cash wage African workers have various small bonuses and allowances, and free housing, rations and water which in the lowest categories cost the companies 71s. 6d. a month. European employees receive a bonus fluctuating with the price of copper, which at present amounts to nearly 75 per cent. of the basic wage.

# A DEPENDENT ECONOMY

MR. N. S. CAREY JONES has prepared a slim volume on *The National Income of British Honduras*<sup>1</sup> which continues the pioneer work begun by Miss Phyllis Deane in *The Measurement of Colonial National Incomes*. The work has two aims, 'first, to show that a reasonably accurate national income study, in broad outline, can be made without over loading it with detail or spending an inordinate time in detailed research; and, secondly, to indicate some of the problems peculiar to a dependent economy by an examination in some detail of one.' (P. ix.) To comment on the first is rather the province of economic journals. The second, however, is of general interest, for Mr. Carey Jones has some very interesting and provocative things to say, and British Honduras, despite its peculiarities, follows broadly the pattern of a dependent economy.

Studying such an economy 'is something like the study of the arm as something dependent on the body, but apart from it conceptually, having some essential core of its own.' (P. 99.) It is easy to treat a tiny specimen like this dispassionately, losing sight of the 'human' aspects of its economic life, but the author places economics in its proper place, subordinate to social policy. Even so, there may be difficulties. To many West Indians, British Honduras is merely *lebensraum* for their over-crowded islands; to most Hondurans, it is a peaceful and distinct way of life to be preserved.

British Honduras is dependent politically on Britain, economically on the United States, geographically on Central America and the West Indies. This dependence has certain advantages and quite a few disadvantages. The small economy may draw on the capital and technological pool of the parent economy, it may be saved some of the normal expenses of independence (e.g. defence), and it may for non-economic reasons receive assistance in raising its standard of living. On the other hand, capital coming from outside sources is more mobile, tends to concentrate in certain fields, for example mining, where returns are particularly secure and substantial, and, because of the variety of opportunities open to it in a capital-hungry world market, can demand guarantees and profits which colonial capital could not. Complete integration in the international division of labour may force the national economy of a small unit to depend on one or a few products highly vulnerable to technical developments—witness the replacement of logwood by synthetic dyes, or to be based on a wasting asset, e.g. mahogany, or produce an internal price structure which will wreck the other segments of the economy, as the high price of forest products drains off labour from agriculture.

Given this pattern, what is the scope for individual governmental action? Mr. Carey Jones thinks that it is the main function of the colonial government

'to maintain equilibrium,' but this by no means is equated with the *status quo*. He feels that new social and spiritual forces are being combated with purely economic counter-forces, and that the Colonial Office and colonial governments have become obsessed with the technocratic belief that an increase in the real national income means *a priori* a healthier and happier society. This argument is used against the Report of the Evans Commission which studies the question of immigration into British Honduras. One of the first things which the government can do is to broaden its own base as far as possible, e.g. by federation or moderate immigration, as in British Honduras the structure of government is much too heavy for so small an economy. Secondly, it can conduct research into all aspects of economic life and development.

Most dependent economies have five fronts on which they can develop: agriculture, forestry, mining, industry and tourism. In British Honduras the last three named are non-existent. Mr. Carey Jones sheds no tears over tourism: 'The Colony is fortunate in having little or no tourist trade and is spared tourists' pressure on the cost of living and the inequalities and disequilibria they produce.' (P. 90.) Here is an example of placing social considerations over an increase in national wealth, but rather an unhappy one. The considerable conspicuous consumption involved in a tourist economy may increase class tension, but this has not appeared to be the case in other West Indian Colonies where 'the tourist industry' is coming to play so important a rôle. Whilst it causes inflation, it also expands many individual incomes, and, if the colonial government has the courage to beard the merchant interest and tax sternly, luxury imports will provide an excellent source of revenue. Lastly, when colonial importers have been weaned from their too great dependence on dollar sources, tourist economies can make a useful contribution to the sterling area.

The future of industrialisation is grim. The tiny local market, and the absence of any substantial market among its neighbours Guatemala, the Yucatan area of Mexico and Honduras, militate against any attempt to do more than process local agricultural and forest produce. Forestry is severely limited in its ability to expand. Capital outlay is heavy, especially in communications; the labour force employed is small and perhaps seasonal; the time-table for replacement must be rigorously enforced, and the Colony has the work of many careless years to undo.

Agriculture alone holds a promise, but one that is far in the future. Some would base all expansion on plantation agriculture and immigrant labour, others on a gradual extension of subsistence farming and a peasant economy. Experiment is the only answer, but the limitations of a subsistence economy in a tropical region must be recognised; the whole value system in the West Indies is based on European-North American standards which can be achieved only with the material products of the North Atlantic basin.

<sup>1</sup> *The Pattern of a Dependent Economy: The National Income of British Honduras*. Cambridge University Press, 21s.

Unfortunately this study was written as of 1946, before the large C.D.C. schemes, and it might be that the author would wish to revise some of his strictures on the inflationary policy of colonial governments. He very properly condemns the creation of a social service system which relies on a combination of British largesse and local boom, both of which might stop at the same time, but there is another side to

the slogan 'an ounce of development is worth a pound of welfare.' Improvement of welfare standards, particularly in education and health, in an agricultural economy is as safe an investment as roads which may lead nowhere and factories which have nothing to process.

**Colin Hughes.**

## Parliament

**Trade Unionists and Jamaica.** Mr. D. Jones asked what action Mr. Lyttelton proposed to take in connection with the incident at Kingston when a Canadian and a United States' official of the I.C.F.T.U. had been requested upon landing to sign undertakings that they would not address or speak to any groups of trade unionists in the island; and whether he was aware that the National Workers' Union of Jamaica had affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., and that the two officials were on routine business of the I.C.F.T.U. Mr. Lyttelton replied that it was within the competence of the Government of Jamaica and he did not propose to take any action. As far as he was aware, these gentlemen were not travelling officially on the business of the I.C.F.T.U. Mr. Lyttelton added that *he* had not refused permission but the Government of Jamaica, that there had been a strike on one of the bauxite undertakings and that Mr. Zonarich, one of the officials concerned, had come to Jamaica earlier in the year with the expressed object of creating havoc in the newly developed bauxite industry. The Jamaican Government had put forward these reasons when they requested the I.C.F.T.U. officials not to address the workers during the progress of this particular strike. This particular form of undertaking was not of general application nor was it to be applied to everybody entering Jamaica. Mr. Shinwell asked whether Mr. Lyttelton would make it abundantly clear that, generally speaking, he would not condone the refusal of any of the colonial governments, so far as he had any responsibility, in refusing to permit the workers anywhere to be addressed by officials of a trade union. Mr. Lyttelton replied that he was very glad to give this assurance. He wanted to make it very clear that there was no criticism, either implied or specific, about the actions of the I.C.F.T.U. (May 6.)

**Mau Mau Oaths in Kenya.** In reply to Mr. Remnant, Mr. Lyttelton said that there were at least four forms of categories of Mau Mau oaths which had now been uncovered. Apart from this fact, nearly all Mau Mau oaths included undertakings to burn houses, to kill and to commit or assist in other forms of violence against both Europeans and loyal Africans. It was noticeable that by the increasing bestiality of the third and fourth oath-taking ceremonies the Mau Mau was attempting to drive groups of adherents outside the civilised and tribal pale. Thirty-nine persons in the Meru district had recently been convicted not merely of oath-taking but of attempting unnatural offences as part of that cere-

mony. Such practices were held in peculiar odium by the Kikuyu and other tribes. (May 6.)

**Money-Collections in Nyasaland.** Mrs. White asked what appeal was open to a person who had been refused permission by a District Commissioner to collect money under Section 3 of the Penal Code (Amendment) Ordinance 1953. Mr. Lyttelton replied that there was no legislative right of appeal against the decision of the District Commissioner but that any person had the right to make representations to the Governor or to himself. There was a right of appeal against conviction for holding of collections without permission. He added that the object of the regulations was to try to prevent unauthorised people getting up subscriptions for odd bodies, which might have no legal existence; and very often these funds were routed to undesirable pockets. (May 6.)

**British films in Malaya.** Mr. Sorensen asked whether the attention of the Secretary of State had been drawn to restrictions on the showing of British films; what was the function of the Parkinson Committee in respect of the British quota law affecting films; and, in view of the campaign to repress gangsterism, what action was being taken to secure the showing of a larger number of good British films and a less number of American and other films displaying the exploits of white gangsters. Mr. Lyttelton replied that apart from the ordinary film censorship he knew of no restrictions on the showing of British films in Singapore and the Federation of Malaya. The Parkinson Committee had been set up to consider whether the present regulation requiring a quota of British films to be shown should be replaced and, if so, what other legislation should take its place. Undesirable scenes of gangsterism in films of any origin could be cut by the censor. (May 6.)

**Colour Bar in N. Rhodesia.** Mr. John Hynd asked how many chambers of commerce in N. Rhodesia had discussed with the local government the practice of serving African customers through windows; how many had recommended to their members the abandonment of this practice. Mr. Lyttelton replied that this had been discussed with all nine chambers of commerce and that the Associated Chambers of Commerce, to which they are affiliated, had asked its members to consider abolishing this practice. A decrease had resulted in the number of shops where it existed. (April 29.)

*Continued from page 5.*

important service is, of course, provision of free housing. Here the Corporation succeeded to a most unsatisfactory inheritance, with overcrowded and squalid conditions in the labour camps. It has tried to get away from labour 'lines' and to build proper bungalows as well as better temporary camps. It estimated<sup>1</sup> that it would take 15 years to finish a full programme of rehousing.

It is clear that in all these questions the Corporation is facing difficulties inherent in the plantation system. It follows the usual 'estate' pattern also in providing schools and hospitals. In the case of schools, the Corporation itself clearly regards this method as a *pis aller*. It is required to train Cameroonians for responsible jobs, to pave the way for ultimate Africanisation, and in 1948 offered scholarships for any degree of training from that of artisan to university level. But the standard of education and the extent of illiteracy in the Cameroons was such<sup>2</sup> that the response was disappointing, and the Corporation decided to start at the bottom. It aims at free primary education for all its employees' children. Where there are schools, fees or subsidies are paid; where there are none, either the Corporation will establish and operate its own schools or run them through voluntary agencies. In 1951 it estimated that approximately 5,000 children would ultimately have to be provided for, and that just over a quarter of these would be dealt with by January, 1952. A start was made with the building of three schools, in which no fees are paid, but was hampered by lack of trained staff. Others have since been built, one with free meals. There is no intention to provide secondary education, but scholarships for secondary education and for higher training are granted. Here again, the low general level makes itself felt. The response to the secondary schools scheme was much below expectation. The higher scholarships are not confined to employees, but are open to all natives of the British Cameroons and their children. In 1951, there were only five students from the whole of the Cameroons at the University College at Ibadan.<sup>3</sup> The evening literacy classes, however, have evidently met a very great demand, and over 2,200 adult students were attending classes at the end of 1952.<sup>4</sup>

These efforts are very creditable to the Corporation, but the conclusion can hardly be escaped that it is carrying a burden which should be carried by local government bodies. It might also be argued that the Corporation is expending on services for its own workers some of the profits which, if taken in taxation or allocated to the 'general benefit of the people of the Cameroons' might be spread over the whole territory. Indeed, it had to be pointed out in the House of Representatives<sup>5</sup> that the Corporation's services benefit principally its own employees, but that only 3,000 of these are natives of the Victoria Division, and that workers come in from the whole territory. Even a public corporation as an em-

ployer can hardly be regarded as the most suitable body to provide education, but it must be admitted that in the present state of development in the Cameroons, this seems inevitable.

The social conditions on the plantations do therefore require careful consideration. The workers are in many respects a privileged class, but they are very much in the position of recipients. If services were being run by local government bodies (which do not at present exist) in which they participated, their life would in fact be lived at an altogether higher plane. The saving grace of their position is to be found in the labour relations machinery.

The Cameroons Development Corporation Workers' Union was registered in 1947 and had reached a membership of nearly 11,000 in 1951. It has had trouble with its accounts and some weakness in organisation was reflected in the request that the Corporation should collect union dues through the pay-pocket—a request which was refused.<sup>6</sup> But the union has been strong enough to conduct important wage negotiations and to secure wage increases. After the strike of 1949, a permanent worker-management consultative committee was established, replacing the less formal monthly meeting between union and Corporation representatives which had previously been held, and in the following year it secured its demand for area consultative committees, an example which has now been followed in Elders and Fyffe's Likomba Plantation. The effectiveness of such consultation must, of course, depend on the efficiency of the union and the goodwill of the management, but it appears from the Corporation's Report for 1951 that important questions are being discussed and that the committees are not ineffective.

The union, even in its early years, is the only point of cohesion for the large number of workers drawn from all parts of the Cameroons and from outside. These men and their families are denied the stable traditional village life of the peasant-farmer by the very conditions of the plantation system. They are also denied, by the size of the Corporation and by their low standard of education, any substantial exercise of responsibility in management. The United Nations Visiting Mission was told in 1949 that it would take at least 40 years before control could be transferred to African management. It suggested in reply that 'it should be a positive and publicly-stated objective to reduce that period by as much as one-half.'<sup>2</sup> The Corporation created a special Intermediate Service to bring on Africans capable of administrative duties, but very few are at present involved. It is clear that there is some feeling of non-participation, as there is in the British nationalised industries, for the Minister of Labour was questioned, during a visit to the Cameroons last December, on the possibility of appointing workers' representatives to the Corporation's Board.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up, it seems fair to say that the Corporation is in many respects a good employer, but that at present too much is coming down from the employer to the worker, and there is too little scope for initiative from below. This seems inevitable at the present time, but the position should be realised and future policy considered in the light of the whole rôle of the Corporation in the life of the Cameroons.

<sup>1</sup> *United Nations Visiting Mission Report*, T/461, page 71.

<sup>2</sup> In 1951 it was estimated that 23.8 per cent. of the children of school age in the Cameroons and Bamenda Provinces were in school. The figure for the whole Cameroons territory would, of course, be much lower.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary of State, House of Commons, April 11, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> Speech of Sir Alan Burns at the United Nations Trusteeship Council, January 19, 1952.

<sup>5</sup> By Dr. E. M. L. Endeley, Minister without Portfolio, April, 1952.

<sup>1</sup> *Department of Labour Quarterly Review*, June, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> T/461, page 89.

<sup>3</sup> He replied that appointments to the Board were not made by the C.D.C.—*Eastern Outlook and Cameroons Star*, December 24, 1952.

# Guide to Books

## Voice Out of Africa

By Cecil Northcott. (Edinburgh House Press, 3s. 6d.)

To some Socialists this booklet could be irritating on account of the extravagant claims made on behalf of the Christian churches, particularly the Protestant churches, in the development of even self-government in West Africa. Except in so far as the Roman Catholic churches may come in under the general name of Christian churches, little is made of the great contribution they too are making towards the education of Africans. But apart from this minor flaw, the book is a most vivid and eye witness account of the temper of the peoples of West Africa and the trend of events there. In spite of its light and sometimes humorous style, the book contains much that would give food for thought to Africans and Europeans alike. The author's account of the reactions to the Nkrumah government of the Gold Coast show great insight and understanding. His description of Dr. Azikiwe reminds one of Jomo Kenyatta at Kapenguria. Mr. Awolowo fares better at his hands.

Mr. Northcott, however, treads on dangerous ground when he says—'Neither the Gold Coast nor Nigeria are native to the people now claiming freedom in their country.' Unless he means that the words used to designate the territories Gold Coast and Nigeria are alien, as indeed they are, the alternative interpretation, that the peoples of Gold Coast and Nigeria are not native, would raise a great storm. Perhaps he will explain whether the peoples who claim freedom in England and who resisted Hitler's demand to spend his Christmas in Buckingham Palace are native to England. Such red herrings about being 'native' play havoc with relations in Africa.

Nonetheless, here is a book which every African can read and feel that at last a school is arising among the English of people who can see the African point of view. It raises some interesting and searching questions which no politically-conscious African can ignore—'Can they come together to form one nation?' 'Will Africa ever learn to live without learning to read?' For English readers it provides a living picture of West Africa today—its quickly changing scenes, its light-headed nationalism and experiments at self-government. Watch Africa now, and you watch the shape of things to come. How true that sounds! These are no longer days when Englishmen can afford to wave aside any discussion of African problems. To uncompromising imperialists the author says, 'the days of empire-making are over. We are passing now into a new stage of nation-making with the arrival of a great cluster of new peoples on the map of the world.' It is high time many a Britisher reconciled himself to this fact.

Timothy Eneli.

## The Peoples and Policies of South Africa

By Leo Marquard. (Oxford University Press, 16s.)

This is a timely and informative book, distinguished for its objective presentation of facts and its dispassionate treatment of a highly controversial subject.

After a brief outline of the historical background, which is essential to an understanding of the present, Mr. Marquard describes the people of South Africa. This description includes an analysis of the inter- and intra-group relations of the four main racial groups, African, European, Coloured and Asian. He points out that 'There is no single instance where the population of South Africa has been united during a great crisis.' The section on the Europeans will have special interest for those who are perplexed by the continuing friction between the English and Afrikaners, in the face of great problems which can only be solved jointly. An important distinction is made between Afrikaners who support the Nationalist Government and those who desire co-operation with the English.

The operation of social and economic colour bars are described in some detail. The writer states that 'it is difficult to estimate the real strength of colour-bar institutions and to assess the forces that are working against them.' The industrial colour bar is legally enforced and is supported by European trade unions and public opinion, but it may be undermined by the insistent demands of industry for its abolition and by the organised opposition of African workers.

The chapter on 'Religion' contains a valuable account of the rôle of the Dutch Reformed Church in South African political life. The policy of the Nationalist Party cannot be understood without some knowledge of the Calvinist creed upon which it is based, and from which the Nationalists derive moral justification for the perpetuation of racial discrimination.

Mr. Marquard sees South Africa as a colonial power, which 'is at once motherland and colony.' This distinguishes her from other territories in Africa and other colonial powers, and makes the problem of granting self-government to her colonial subjects much more difficult. In South Africa self-government for Africans means sharing government with permanently resident Europeans on a partnership basis. So far the Europeans seem unprepared and unwilling to undertake this experiment. South Africa's problem will remain unsolved until the Europeans recognise the necessity of integrating the Africans into the political and economic life of the country, and take steps to implement such a policy.

Deborah Kirkwood.

**The Ethnographic Survey of Africa.** Edited by Daryll Forde. (International African Institute, London.) Six more studies in this series have

been published: *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples: Northern Rhodesia, Angola, Belgian Congo*, by Merran McCulloch (8s. 6d.); *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South-western Nigeria*, by Daryll Forde (8s. 6d.); *Tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, by Madeline Manoukian (8s. 6d.); *The Lozi Peoples of North-western Rhodesia*, by V. W. Turner (7s. 6d.); *The Ewe-Speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast*, by Madeline Manoukian (7s. 6d.); *The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya*, by John Middleton (9s. 6d.). Each of these valuable studies includes a map and bibliography.

**The Crises of Imperial History.** By E. E. Rich (Cambridge University Press, 2s. 6d.) The Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of Imperial Naval History in the University of Cambridge. Professor Rich surveys the varying crises of the Empire, from the Cromwellian crisis of emigration in the Caribbean to the present-day crises of trusteeship and Commonwealth. He stresses the dependence of the concept of trusteeship on 'a conviction of the applicability of western ideas outside of their contexts.' The problems of Commonwealth, he argues, have yet to reveal themselves. Most students will agree with his view that the conflict in imperial history is seldom between Right and Wrong but rather between one Right and another Right.

**Who Killed Kenya?** By Colin Wills. (Dennis Dobson, 9s. 6d.) Mr. Will's usual vivid journalism, with some flashes of political insight and some excellent photographs. But the serious student will gain little from this book.

**Journey in Hope.** By Phyllis L. Garlick. (The Highway Press, 6, Salisbury Square, E.C.4, 1s. 6d.) The first of the new *C.M.S. In the World To-day Series*, which outlines some aspects of the work of the Church Missionary Society in the context of the call to 'all Christians to come forth from their securities which are no more secure' and from the too narrow 'boundaries of accepted duty.'

**You and I.** (Tan Publications Ltd., 156, Portobello Road, W.11., 1s.) The first number of a new monthly journal which aims at showing, by focusing attention on cultural contributions, that inter-racial co-operation is steadily growing.

## CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER

For Reference	June, 1953
Comment—	
Time to Wake Up - - - - -	1
B.G. Votes Left - - - - -	1
The Nigerian Crisis - - - - -	2
Rejected Appeal - - - - -	2
Racial Discrimination - - - - -	2
Malayan Perspective - - - - -	3
Representation in Tanganyika - - - - -	3
Nationalisation in the Cameroons by Molly Mortimer and Marjorie Nicholson - - - - -	5
Colour Bar or Dilution? - - - - -	6
A Dependent Economy by Colin Hughes - - - - -	8
Parliament - - - - -	9
Guide to Books - - - - -	11
Activities of the Bureau - - - - -	12

## Activities of the Bureau

On March 25 members of the Bureau's **Kenya** Advisory Committee met Mr. Michael Blundell, Leader of the European Elected Members in the Kenya Legislative Council. Mr. Blundell outlined his views on the current crisis in Kenya and answered questions.

\* \* \*

### West Indian Socialists

On April 23 members of the Bureau's Advisory Committee and some members of the Bureau particularly interested in the West Indies invited to tea the Labour members of the West Indian delegations attending the Conference on Caribbean federation. Lord Listowel welcomed the visitors and expressed the hope that the Federation Conference would have a successful outcome. Speeches in reply were made by Mr. H. Marryshow (Grenada), Mr. Grantley Adams (Barbados), Mr. F. Glasspole (Jamaica) and Mr. V. Bird (Antigua). All the West Indian speakers stressed that the new attitude in colonial policy of the Labour Government of 1945-51 had brought about a psychological change in the West Indies. They now faced the possibility of becoming a Dominion and expressed their determination to achieve this.

\* \* \*

### Malayan Perspective

In a new pamphlet, *Malayan Perspective*, Mr. Derrick Sington, formerly correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* in South-east Asia, reviews developments in Malaya since 1949 and outlines a constructive policy for Malaya in the next few years. Malaya's main need in the political field, he argues, is a 'change in the pattern of power,' and in the economic field, much greater attention to the problems of the rubber smallholders and the peasantry. The pamphlet is being sent free to members of the Colonial Bureau and to £3 members of the Fabian Society. It may be purchased from the Secretary, Fabian Colonial Bureau, 11, Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1, price 1s. 7½d. (post free).

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